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THE RACE FOR PRIMACY.

SOME years ago when visiting England, it was my good fortune to induce the greatest living Englishman to write for this REVIEW the now famous paper "Kin Beyond Sea." In this essay Mr. Gladstone expressed the opinion that the time was not far distant when America would wrest from England her commercial primacy, and that Englishmen would have no more title to murmur than had Holland, or Venice, or Genoa.

This prediction at the time challenged severe criticism and even vehement personal denunciation in England, but in this country it only emphasized the far-reaching foresight which has so strongly marked the utterances of this illustrious statesman.

In view of the recent Victorian Jubilee a rapid glance at half a century of national advancement in the United States as contrasted with that of Great Britain will be instructive and perhaps to some readers surprising. It is far from my present purpose to belittle the wonderful work done in England throughout the reign of Queen Victoria, which in material advancement has made Englishmen prosperous beyond precedent, and in government has gone far to recognize the essential right of public opinion and to demonstrate the weakness of old-world despotism. My object is merely to review in outline the achievements of a people dedicated to the great experiment of American democracy as compared with the advancement recorded during half a century by the most enlightened and most liberally governed of transatlantic countries.

It should be borne in mind that the last fifty years in this country have been full of peculiar dangers and difficulties. Our embarrassments have been those of a young man starting in the world without capital or credit. The spell of progress was upon us from the first, yet our stock in trade was insignificant

when compared with the wealth and credit of England in the plenitude of her commercial prosperity. But the nobility of industry and commerce was early recognized in this country. The true religion of American democracy prevailed—*laborare est orare.* The migration of nations peopled states, vast as old empires. The enfranchised genius of the "plain people" bore us through all the tribulations of new governments. It sustained the nation through the deadliest war of modern times, and has built up, within the memory of tens of thousands of living men, the most colossal power the world ever saw.

The rapid development of American wealth and institutions seems to have brought with it a marked change in the American national character. This change was wrought by our civil war. The ante-bellum traits of daring youth, doubt, and consequent boastfulness, have yielded to the more tempered traits of maturity. Four years of Titanic struggle and of sorrow that cast a shadow over every home in the land, sobered the nation North and South. British tourists of a generation ago never failed to point out, and generally to exaggerate, the American trait that Emerson described as "the peacock in our national character." It has been taken for granted by most observing Americans that this peacock was one of the victims of the war. But, strangely enough, recent British literature compels one to doubt whether our peacock was correctly numbered among the dead — whether it ought not to have been classed among the "missing." For it seems to have crossed the Atlantic, to have foresworn its allegiance to America to become a truly loyal British subject. John Bull has commonly been regarded as a personage too proud to be vain, but the English Jubilee reviewers have seemed disposed to mark the Jubilee year by a display of self-complacency which puts into the shade our old-time Fourth of July orators in the palmiest days of their spread-eagle rhetoric. If this is an illustration of the much dreaded "Americanization of England," it is to be hoped that she will not assume the cast-off follies and frailties of our national adolescence. Great as has been the progress of the United Kingdom during the Victorian Era, we cannot on this side of the Atlantic admit that John Bull is, so to speak, the Kit Carson of advancing civilization.

Although it is true now, and a century hence will be still

more widely true, that "Europe, not England, is the mother country of America," yet the fact remains that Americans, as a class, whatever their race-origin, feel, and will continue to feel, a closer sense of relationship to the people that founded our earlier settlements, and from whom we inherited our language, a large portion of our literature, and the crude framework of our political institutions, than they feel toward any other nation of the old world, ancient or modern. And while we can rejoice, and do rejoice, in this marvelous growth during the last half century of the United Kingdom, yet there is no disposition, in America, to admit that, in any element of national prosperity, we have any cause to shrink from a comparison.

To show that this feeling is founded on no vain-glorious assumption or presumption, let us compare briefly by the light of accessible data* the relative progress of the United Kingdom and the United States during a period of fifty years.

The increase of population is one of the surest tests of national prosperity, as well as the best guarantee for its perpetuity.

In fifty years the population of the United Kingdom has increased at the rate of 42 per cent.; from 26,000,000 in 1837 to 37,000,000 in 1887. During fifty years the population of the United States nearly quadrupled—a ten times greater increase. In 1830 it was 12,866,020; in 1880 it was 50,155,783.

English writers assign, as one cause of the less rapid growth of the United Kingdom, the loss of not quite 24,000 men in the Crimean War and of 95,000 persons by cholera. But the natural increase of the population of the United States was far more seriously checked by wars and disease; for during our Civil War, the North alone lost 279,376 men killed in battle, and 29,725 who died in Confederate prisons. The Confederates lost, according to

* Desiring to avoid the uncertainty of estimates and to rely as far as possible upon official statistics, I have been forced in some instances to compute the fifty years contrasted with the Victorian Era as the period between 1830 and 1880. This method of computation decidedly favors the United Kingdom and compels the omission of comparisons more telling and more favorable to the United States than any here given. In some few cases, as, for example, in referring to the increase of post-offices, my deduction from comparisons has followed the same course of reasoning as the Victorian Jubilee writers have generally adopted, although such a course of reasoning may, in these few instances, be open to objections. It should also be borne in mind that American statisticians fall short, in many cases, of the elaborate computations of foreign statisticians, and this is especially true of the earlier years referred to in this article.

one partial statement, self-evidently not complete, and admitted to be an under-estimate, 133,821 killed in battle. There is no record of naval losses on both sides available; but it is certain that America did not lose fewer than half a million of men during the war, and it is believed by expert statisticians that the united losses were nearly a million of men, who perished directly or indirectly, from wounds and disease, during the war, or in consequence of it. Immigration also decreased greatly during the continuance of our Civil War. During our Mexican War, we lost over 4,000 men; and yellow fever, in our Southern States, and cholera throughout the country, have far exceeded in mortality all the ravages of epidemics in the United Kingdom.

Fifty years ago, our leading cities of to-day were either not in existence or were small towns and villages, while the City of New York at the last census—not to speak of the extraordinary increase since the last National census of 1880—had a population of 1,206,299, Philadelphia of 847,170, Brooklyn of 566,663, Chicago of 503,185, Boston of 362,839, and St. Louis of 350,518. No English city, except Sheffield, has increased at a greater rate than 138 per cent,—London at the rate of 108 per cent. only,—and yet the increase of English towns, as a whole, has been three times more rapid than that of the population.

Recent statistics show, also, that the rate of increase in the United Kingdom is steadily declining.

This fact is attributed to emigration; but emigration is only another form and another proof of a decline in national prosperity. For people never leave their native country in large numbers, unless they are driven away by necessity and are tolerably certain of bettering their condition in exile.

The influx of immigration is also a sure sign of national prosperity. For the vast majority of immigrants are induced to emigrate by reason of letters from the country to which they go attesting its prosperity.

The United Kingdom has lost over nine millions of souls by emigration during the Victorian Era. Of these British subjects who preferred the chance of prosperity in exile to the certainty of poverty at home, 4,186,000 were Irish, 4,045,000 were English, and 870,000 were Scotch. The number of foreigners who settle in Great Britain has averaged about ten thousand yearly for the last decade, "Of whom," a high English authority says, "a

strong feeling of jealousy has sprung up. This is most unjust and impolitic, since no country is more indebted than England to foreign settlers and refugees for the development of her industries." True; and English historians have not failed to eulogize England as a land of refuge for the oppressed, nor to show how her hospitality has been richly repaid by the introduction of industries of which at one time the native countries of these exiles enjoyed a monopoly. Yet these writers fail to perceive that English Government has driven nine millions of the people of the United Kingdom to other countries, mostly to the United States (700 persons, chiefly adults, leave England every day), in order to enjoy greater liberty, as well as to share in our general prosperity, of which the chief cause is our system of government.

Only four per cent. of the population of the United Kingdom are foreign born.

The statistics of emigration for the United States show that during the Victorian Era no less than 13,448,657 emigrants arrived in the United States, of whom 4,698,098 were from Great Britain and Ireland, and 8,746,921 from the continent of Europe. The lowest number was 8,385; the highest—(in 1857)—was 298,-967. This is a practical, international and incontrovertible verdict on the prosperity of the United States that no patriotic sophistry can set aside. For this vast emigration was wholly voluntary.

But the quality of a country's population is as important as its number. An educated and intelligent people is one of the best proofs of national prosperity and a demonstration of the excellence of its government. The education of the English people has made great progress during the Victorian Era. "The increase of school children recently—since 1875—has been seventy per cent., or seven times faster than that of population." Yet this attendance is fifty per cent. less than the school accommodations.

Millions of the working classes of the United Kingdom are so poor that they cannot take advantage of the educational opportunities provided for them. The percentage of adults who can write is 82 in the United Kingdom, against 90 in the United States, and it should be borne in mind that an overwhelming proportion of our percentage of adult illiterates is of foreign birth, or was born in slavery, and, therefore, had no chance of enjoying the advantages of our educational institutions. The number of

school teachers in the United Kingdom is 89,477; in the United States 272,686. The United Kingdom, with a population of 37 millions, had four million of school children. The United States, with a population of 50 millions, had five and a half million school children.

It is claimed that the number of post-offices is an indirect test of the increase of intelligence. In 1837 there were less than 12,000 post-offices in the United States. There are now about 54,000.

The sale of periodicals is perhaps a better test. In 1850 there were 2,526 periodicals published in the United States. There are now nearly 15,000, and in thirty years (from 1850 to 1880) their united circulation has increased from 5,142 millions to 31,177 millions. There are no equivalent statistics of the United Kingdom at present available, but it is claimed that the amount of money spent to-day in that country is nine shillings per head on both books and newspapers, as against two shillings in 1840. These figures show that we are far ahead of the United Kingdom in our "patronage" of current literature. In 1886 we spent $50,800,000 in the purchase of periodicals alone, or about five-eighths of the amount, per capita, expended in the United Kingdom, both in books and periodicals; and this does not include what we paid for English periodicals, which are very largely circulated in this country.

The United Kingdom has increased enormously in wealth during the Victorian fifty years—from $20,500,000,000 to $46,050,000,000, or at the rate of 124 per cent—three times greater than the rate of increase of the population.

The chief items of the wealth thus estimated are railways, houses, furniture, cattle, etc., shipping, merchandise, bullion, and "sundries."

In 1840 there were 840 miles of railway in the United Kingdom; in 1837 there were 1,500 miles in the United States; to-day there are in the United Kingdom, 19,170 miles; in the United States, 136,195 miles. All of Europe has but 123,526 miles.

There was no authentic report of the total investments in railroads in the United States until quite recently; but to-day the investment in railroads in the United Kingdom is $4,080,000,000—in the United States $8,339,285,842—much more than double, to our credit.

American official statistics do not furnish authentic figures to make a contrast in the relative increase in houses, except on farms, the total value of which, in the United States, in 1880, was $9,000,000,000,—only three billions of dollars less than the entire value of *all* the houses, rural and city, in the United Kingdom. This single fact shows that the amount invested in the United States in buildings in city and country far exceeds the amount similarly invested in the United Kingdom.

I find no specific computation of the value of furniture in America; but, assuming, as British statistical experts assume, that the value of furniture, on a large average, is about fifty per cent. of the value of the houses, the value of the furniture in our rural buildings alone is $5,000,000,000, while the value of the furniture in *every* house in the United Kingdom is only $6,600,000,000. It is a very moderate deduction from these figures to estimate the value of furniture in the United States at double that of the United Kingdom.

The value of lands in the United Kingdom has fallen, since 1870, $2,150,000,000, and, to use a common market report phrase, "it still has a downward tendency." The value of land in the United States, in every State in the Union, has risen during the same period, and during that time several great and flourishing States were organized, including the entire Pacific Slope. America created, peopled, and covered with great cities, railways, and vineyards the prosperous State of California, while the United Kingdom, according to a high English authority, was devoting her energies to the erection of a tawdry House of Parliament.

The value of all the cattle and farm implements in the United Kingdom is $2,000,000,000. There are no statistics available of the value of farm implements in the United States; but we kill, in the slaughter-houses of the Northwest alone, every year, cattle whose value is about one-sixth of that amount, or over $300,000,000. Our live cattle on farms were valued, in the census of 1880, at $1,500,384,707.

Shipping in the United Kingdom has multiplied sixfold in value. In 1840, the average tonnage cost £10; in some of the great transatlantic steamers it now averages £40 a ton.

At the outbreak of our Civil War the United States led all the world in the amount of its steam tonnage; but, since that period,

the United Kingdom has taken the lead. She owes the present prosperity of her shipping interests less to her own enterprise than to the misfortunes of her former rivals.

Our domestic shipping on the rivers and great lakes shows no decrease ; but has steadily increased, and is now more prosperous than at any previous period of our history, notwithstanding the enormous competition of the railroads at all points as common carriers.

The value of merchandise (the term meaning commercial articles within the country) is fixed by British statisticians at the amount of six months exports and imports.

This item in the United Kingdom was, in 1840, $350,000,000 ; and, in 1886, $1,605,000,000.

The same reasoning would show the merchandise in the United States to have been $121,000,000 (in 1837) and $720,000,000 in 1886. But a comparison, under this rule of computation, while showing a five-fold increase by the United Kingdom and a six-fold increase by the United States, is unfair to us ; for we are daily increasing the consumption of our own products, the values of which (although properly falling under the head of merchandise) do not appear in the tables of our exports and imports. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, depends for food, clothing, and the other necessaries of life largely upon foreign countries, and such articles, therefore, enormously swell its bulk of imports. Thus, in 1880, the United States manufactured flour to the value of more than $500,000,000, fully two-thirds of which was consumed at home. Although this should be computed with the articles comprising merchandise, yet it has no showing in the figures of the imports and exports of the United States ; and the same may be said of cattle which, being slaughtered, became merchandise to the value, in 1880, of $303,000,000, so that a fair comparison between the merchandise of the two countries would show not only a greater increase by the United States but a vastly greater sum total.

The bullion in a country is one of the items,—not generally unappreciated,—of her wealth. The United Kingdom valued her possessions of this article at $305,000,000 in 1840, and at $715,000,000 in 1887. I know of no trustworthy estimate of the bullion in the United States, but during the last forty years we have produced, from our mines, gold and silver to

the value of $2,393,000,000, and the vast unmined supply is uncalculable.

Loans to foreign countries constitute the bulk of the items of "sundries" in the estimated wealth of the United Kingdom. These "sundries" were estimated, in 1840, at $3,650,000,000, and in 1882 at $9,070,000,000. More than $4,000,000,000 of this sum is in "foreign loans,"—such as the Egyptian and Turkish loans,—and $2,160,000,000 in Colonial loans. It may well be questioned whether these loans to foreign countries are in reality wealth. Certainly the Turkish and Egyptian will be utterly valueless if ever the United Kingdom ceases to have the power to extort the payment of the interest on them.

We are embarrassed by no such present or possible complications.

But the accumulation of wealth is not the only nor chief measure of progress. The increase of manufactures, of "steam-power and energy," of the food supply, and of banking—the advance in science, in agriculture, and in the production of machinery and metals—the improvements of methods of instruction, and facilities of inter-communication between the various parts of the country—these are factors of national prosperity far more important than the mere heaping up of the precious metals.

The value of manufactures in the United Kingdom has trebled during the Victorian Era, but between 1850 and 1880 the manufactures in the United States increased at least fivefold, alike in the value of products, of capital invested, and of wages paid.

Before 1850, there were no trustworthy statistics of manufactures in the United States, and it is therefore impossible to illustrate the comparative growth during the different decades.

Two of the principal textile manufactures of the United Kingdom during the Victorian Era were cotton and wool. In 1841 the annual value of woolen manufactures in the United Kingdom was $140,000,000; in 1885 it was $210,000,000. In the United States in 1850 it was $39,000,000; in 1880, $267,000,000. The cotton industry in the United Kingdom in 1840 was $200,000,000, and in 1885 it was $440,000,000. In the United States in 1860 it was $107,337,783, and in 1880 it was $211,000,000. Thus, in these two items alone, while the sums total of both industries do not equal the production of the United Kingdom, the percentage of increase is vastly greater.

Among the industries of the United States, which have comparatively no existence in the United Kingdom, are flouring, which has risen from $136,000,000 (in 1850) to $505,000,000 (1880); slaughtering and meat packing, which has risen from nil to $303,000,000; and the manufacture of tobacco, which has risen from $13,000,000 (in 1850) to $117,000,000 (in 1880).

Distilleries and breweries are among the most flourishing industries of both the United Kingdom and the United States; the production, in both instances, being almost wholly consumed at home. In 1840 the United Kingdom consumed 646,000,000 gallons of malt liquors, and in 1885 991,000,000 gallons. The United States in 1840 consumed 23,000,000 gallons, and in 1886 614,500,000 gallons. The United Kingdom in 1840 produced 16,500,000 gallons of distilled liquors, against 30,000,000 gallons in 1885; the United States produced 43,000,000 gallons in 1840, and 76,000,000 gallons in 1886. From an ethical point of view these figures may not seem very flattering to us; but as a test of the general diffusion of wealth and increase of manufactures they are important. A comparison of miscellaneous manufactures of the two countries shows similarly a result in favor of the United States.

Coal and iron are the only minerals of note in the United Kingdom. The United Kingdom produces annually 60,000,000 more tons of coal than the United States; but if in the coal yield of the United States be included petroleum and natural gas, our production will at least equal and probably surpass that of the United Kingdom. Another important fact to be noted is that the mineral wealth of the United Kingdom is decreasing at a most alarming ratio, whereas the United States has, unmined, mineral treasures that have been calculated to be able to supply its present and prospective population for several centuries to come.

There is hardly any mineral which is not found in some part of the vast territory of the United States. Of the precious metals, we have produced—since the discovery of gold in California, in 1848, and of silver, in 1859—up to 1885, $2,393,046,471. The United Kingdom has no offset against this production.

"The production of iron in the United States and in other countries," says an eminent British authority, "has had such ex-

traordinary development in recent years that there has been a general outcry, in the United Kingdom, that the best days of the British iron industry have passed." In 1840 the United Kingdom produced 1,450,000 tons of iron, and in 1884, 7,530,000 tons —a fivefold increase. In 1840 the United States produced 360,000 tons; in 1884, 4,090,000—an elevenfold increase. Still greater was our proportional increase in the steel industry, between 1870 and 1884. The United Kingdom, in 1870, produced 245,000 tons of steel, and in 1884, 1,780,000—a sevenfold increase. In 1870 the United States produced 64,000 tons of steel, and in 1884, 1,540,000 tons—a twenty-fourfold increase.

The growth of steam-power, and the invention and improvement of machinery, have greatly accelerated the development of manufactures. The United States surpasses the United Kingdom in the proportion of "energy" to population, by an average of fifty foot-tons per inhabitant daily. The ratio of work done by hand in the United States is only 4.5, as against 4.7 in the United Kingdom.

The United Kingdom has 140 joint stock banks, with an aggregate paid-up capital and reserve of $500,000,000. The United States in 1882 had 2,308 national banks, with a capital of $485,000,000; 4,473 State and private banks, with a capital of $229,000,000. The savings banks in the United Kingdom in 1886 had on deposit $490,000,000; the savings banks in the United States, $994,000,000.

The English banks discounted, in 1885, $1,200,000,000. The Scotch, Irish, and other banks discounted in the same year $600,000,000. The amount of discounts of the banks in the United States is not obtainable, but the Clearing House, in New York City, cleared, in 1886, from only sixty-three banks, $33,374,682,216, and the loans of the national banks were, on October 7th, 1886, $1,450,000,000.

The large amount of business done by the British Government through the Bank of England, swells the aggregate of the banking business of the United Kingdom, while the corresponding business done by the United States is not represented in our bank returns. And if the marvelous financial ability which supplied the United States Treasury with money during the late war, and has since so largely reduced the principal and rate of interest of the national debt, be considered, then, in the extent

of banking and in the exhibition of financial genius, we surpass the world.

The vast expenses of our Civil War (about $7,000,000,000) prevent any just comparison between the normal public expenditures of the two countries during the period of fifty years. The national expenditure of the United Kingdom shows a steady increase; that of the United States varies from year to year, our largest annual expenditure being in 1865, when it reached the enormous sum of $1,295,000,000.

The expenditures for the army, navy, and government generally, of the United Kingdom have risen from $1.75 to $3.75 per inhabitant, and this is exclusive of the expense of the Royal Irish Constabulary. The military expenditure of the United States was in 1865 for the army, $1,030,000,000; for the navy, $122,000,000. In 1886 the expenditure for the army was $34,000,000, and for the navy $14,000,000—a decrease unparalleled in the history of any civilized nation.

A national debt is a national evil. The United Kingdom has made small progress in reducing the amount of her debt as compared with the United States. In 1837 the national debt of the United Kingdom was $3,980,000,000, in 1886 it was $3,710,000,000. In 1865 the national debt of the United States was $2,885,000,000. On January 1st, 1887, it had been reduced to $1,714,000,000, and the rate of interest has been greatly lowered. The credit of the United States to-day is second to that of no other country.

It would seem almost absurd to contrast the agriculture of the two countries. The Chicago tourist who complained that the want of elbow room in England was so great that he did not dare to take a morning walk because he could not swim, and was "afraid of falling into the sea," explains—in a perhaps somewhat exaggerated form of statement—the difference between the United States and the United Kingdom. The production of wheat in the United Kingdom has fallen from 110,000,000 bushels (in 1851) to 76,000,000 bushels (in 1885). In the United States it has increased from 100,000,000 bushels (in 1850) to 459,000,000 bushels in 1880. The production of the other cereals shows a proportionate decrease in the United Kingdom, and a proportionate increase in the United States. With rising rents and falling markets in the United Kingdom, her tenant farmers have found

little cause to rejoice at her progress during the Victorian Era. For more than one-half of her food supplies the United Kingdom has to depend on foreign countries. If it were ever possible for an enemy to blockade the ports of the United Kingdom, even no more efficiently than our Southern ports were blockaded during the war, Great Britain would be starved into surrender, in less than a year.

The United States has contributed to the world's progress more than any other nation in the wonderful variety of her inventions. It was American enterprise that first proved the practicability of steam navigation across the oceans of the globe; and that too, within a few years after the then most eminent scientist of England had publicly declared his readiness to eat the first steamer that crossed the Atlantic. The American steamer Savannah first crossed the Atlantic, from New York, in 1819.

In 1835 Morse set up his experimental line of telegraph; and, in 1837, was petitioning Congress for aid—having previously demonstrated the practicability of his great invention.

Americans invented electric light, electric motors, the sewing-machine, the palace and sleeping car, the revolver, the machine gun, the monitor, the screw propeller, the steam fire-engine, the air-brake, elevators, the harvester and reaper, the type-writer, rubber goods and innumerable other lesser contrivances to substitute mechanical for human labor, and to contribute to the comfort and civilization of humanity. Americans developed the printing press, armored vessels, the friction match, the locomotive, the steam engine, and the horse-car, district telegraph and messenger systems. The first ocean cable was laid by the pluck and enterprise of an American.

The care of the sick and wounded has been brought to greater perfection in the United States than in any other country, while the ambulance system originated with us. The pain of surgical operations has been obliterated by the use of anæsthesia, nitrous-oxide gas being first administered as an anæsthetic by Colton, in 1844; while Long performed a surgical operation upon a patient under the influence of sulphuric ether, in 1842—five years before Simpson of Edinburgh utilized the most dangerous of all anæsthetics, chloroform. American enterprise has created new industries, of which the vast petroleum trade and the utilization of electricity are illustrations.

United States explorers have crossed equatorial Africa and have not been surpassed by other nations in their daring attempts to reach the utmost confines of the earth. Japan was opened to the world by an American commodore—without a hostile shot being fired, or a drop of blood shed—greatly to the advantage of her people, as well as to the commerce of all nations. The United Kingdom opened China to the world, but she not only employed military force, but compelled the Chinese to permit the introduction of a drug which has proved the greatest curse of her people. Wong Chin Foo, a man of great ability and education of the Mandarin class, thus expressed in the NORTH AMERICAN REVIEW for August the general Chinese opinion of the United Kingdom: "When the English wanted the Chinamen's gold and trade, they said they wanted 'to open China for their missionaries.' And opium was the chief, in fact only, missionary they looked after, when they forced the ports open. And this infamous Christian introduction among Chinamen has done more injury—social and moral—in China than all the humanitarian agencies of Christianity could remedy in two hundred years. On you, Christians, and your greed of gold, we lay the burden of the crime resulting—of tens of millions of honest, useful men and women sent thereby to premature death after a short, miserable life—besides the physical and moral prostration it entails even where it does not prematurely kill. And you wonder why we are heathen."

The United States is not only at peace with all the world, but she has the good will of all nations—savage and civilized—with whom she has dealings. In its dealings with conquered people, England's policy has made her enemies; whereas the only uncivilized race (the North American Indians) whom the United States has ever subjugated, is protected, pensioned and educated at our expense; and Mr. Jefferson Davis—who is not regarded as a fanatical enthusiast of Federal action—has recently shown, that whatever failures may have marked its dealings with Indians, it has always been the intention of the Government of the United States to deal justly with them. No revolutionist ever paid a similar tribute to the policy in Hindoostan of the Government of the United Kingdom. The American Indian has never been blown from the mouths of cannon.

In literature, the United States has made advances that re-

dound to its credit. It can no longer be asked, as Sydney Smith asked, "Who reads an American book?" Although the trained intellect of America, owing to the necessity created by our unparalleled increase of population, has been chiefly directed to material enterprises—the creation of great states rather than great books. Yet, to-day, the United States need make no apology for her authors and poets as contrasted with the authors and poets of the United Kingdom. American literature, which was in its infancy at the beginning of the Victorian Era, has risen to the front rank; and, to-day, our books, reviews, and other periodicals circulate all over the world. In magazine literature, and in the arts of typography and illustration, we are far ahead of the United Kingdom, and the enterprise of our journals is unparalleled by any nation.

In the science of government the United Kingdom has no title to exult. Seven centuries have passed since she overran and annexed Ireland, and yet the Irish of to-day hate the United Kingdom as much as did their fathers who followed the standard of Brian Boru. British statesmen and writers have hitherto excused their failures to conciliate Ireland by attributing them to the incorrigible character of the Celtic race. But the same people whom she practically drove into exile by the million—the most ignorant and poorest of her population—have been absorbed into the American nationality, and are not surpassed in their loyalty by the descendants of the men of the Mayflower.

Hardly one generation has passed since we ended the bloodiest and fiercest war of modern history, waged against the United States by an educated and courageous people, led by statesmen of distinguished ability and by generals of the highest skill and genius. Yet, to-day, if a foreign war were threatened, so generously was the defeated party treated, that every survivor among the generals who followed Lee, would instantly offer his services to the army of the United States, whose General is a Catholic and the descendant of an Irish Catholic exile. We have shown to the world, and especially to the United Kingdom, that the wisest and safest policy of converting enemies into friends is to treat them with kindness and justice. If the United States had deal with the South as the United Kingdom dealt with the Sepoys and the Irish, the Southern people would have remained in sullen

rebellion to the present hour, waiting, as the Irish wait, to make their conqueror's difficulty their opportunity.

In one respect the United Kingdom can make a longer record than the United States. We have not passed as many Reform bills as England has passed during the Victorian Era. But this is perhaps because there has been less need of them. The most important efforts towards reform which the United Kingdom has claimed as characteristic of the Victorian Era, were either, when passed in England, already on the statute books of the United States, or a timid approximation to the existing more liberal American legislation, as for example the extensions of the franchise under Earl Gray and Disraeli.

Yet with all these facts before him, no American can turn without wonder and admiration from the once savage outlying Roman province to the highly civilized little island that now rules one-seventh of the human race, on whose empire the sun never sets, and "whose morning drum-beat," in the words of Daniel Webster, "following the sun, and keeping company with the hours, circles the earth with one continuous and unbroken strain of the martial airs of England."

ALLEN THORNDIKE RICE.